grown extensively in the past and some Kazembes[1] were acknowledged hashish-addicts. 276

THADE

Slaves and ivory (exchanged for cloth and merchandise) were for a long period the main trading assets of the country.[2] Salt, otter-skins and beeswax[3] were other traded commodities. The valley fish used to be exchanged for the mushrooms, honey and wild fruits of the plateau. It is still bartered with the Lungu *citemene* cultivators for millet, from which hot beer (*katubi*) is brewed. Trade with the Swahili, Arab and European merchants was the Kazembe's monopoly.[4] Ivory came mostly from the Congo side of the Luapula being brought as tribute.[5] Fish, the chief export article at the present time, is marketed in the mining areas of the Belgian Congo, only a small proportion going to the Rhodesian Copperbelt.[6] Kasenga, with its ice factory and road connection with Elisabethville, is the local distribution centre. Small quantities of cassava and bananas are also offered for sale there. 439

ECONOMIC CHANGE

Labour migration to the mines and sales of fish are the most noticeable signs of economic change. Subsistence agriculture prevails although, with the establishment of co-operative farms, the growing of cash crops may develop. 178

CRAFTS

Iron-ore, abundant in the hillside country to the east, was smelted and iron was worked[7] until the advent of the British South Africa Company. Imported trade goods have since displaced native-made hoes, axe-heads, knives and spears. 325

Cotton spinning and weaving are other crafts which have fallen into decay.[8] The rough cotton cloth mentioned by Livingstone[9] is no longer made. Mats woven from reeds, papyrus and the leaf of the *mukalala* palm and split bamboo baskets are still made by men after the rains when the fishing season is over.[10] Pottery-making was confined to women. The men worked wood and leather, dressed skins and prepared barkcloth. They hollowed dugouts, carved wooden plates and crudely finished figures of ritual significance.[11] Dyes were procured from plants and trees and a tree-bark infusion was used in treating wounds.[12] Potash salt was extracted from plant ashes.[13] The method widely used among the Tabwa and Bena Kabwili on the north-eastern fringe of Lake Mweru,[14] where a brownish salt is obtained by filtering water through salpetrous earth and evaporating the brine,[15] may Also have been employed. 28 32 [386] [317]

(1) Crawford, op.cit., pp.99, 100.
(2) Burton, p.130; Gamitto, I, p.398.
(3) Valdez, II, p.187.
(4) Burton, p.109.
(5) ibid., p.188.
(6) Brelsford, 2, 1947, p.70.
(7) Livingstone, I, p.307.
(8) Crawford, 2, opp.194.
(9) op.cit., p.267.
(10) Moore, 1937.
(11) Valdez, II, p.218.
(12) Gamitto, I, p.386.
(13) Valdez, op.cit., p.246.
(14) Livingstone, op.cit., p.223.
(15) Described in some detail by Moore.

28 also have been employed. Household utensils and vessels were fashioned
32 from wood and gourds. Bracelets and other ornaments were manufactured from copper-wire or copper bars purchased from the Nyamwezi who smelted copper
[811] in Katanga. The traditional arms were spear, assegai, *pocue* (the short, broad-bladed, two-edged Lunda sword) and battle-axe.(1) A defensive wea-
[726] pon was the square, lightwood shield said to be unpierceable after being soaked in water.(2). Bows and arrows were apparently not used in war.(3)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CLAN ORGANIZATION(4)

614 The clan (*mukowa*) consists of persons, alive and dead, believed to be descended matrilineally from a common ancestor or ancestress, even though they may not be able to trace their ancestry. The clans, now dispersed, have each a traditional home, *ntulo* (a word also used for the source of a river), a common totemic name (usually the generic name of an animal or plant), and a common slogan, *ilumbo* (from *ukulumba*, to boast). In principle clans are exogamous but in fact this is not observed; the exogamous
[602] unit is the *cikota*, a subdivision of the clan. Each clan stands in a joking relationship (*bwali*) to one, or sometimes more than one other, with which its name is connected by an association of ideas. Examples of such paired clans are: the leopard and the goat (because leopards kill goats), the iron and the elephants (elephants were hunted with iron-headed spears), the mushroom and the ant-hill (mushrooms thrive on ant-hills). No preferential marriage obtains between the *bali* (persons in joking relationship) as is the case among the Bemba. In the mortuary ceremonies a special role is assigned to a *mali* of the deceased. An isolated instance of an inter-clan avoidance pattern is provided by the Lion (*Bena Nkalamo*) and the Snake clans. Members of a clan are supposed to give hospitality to their fellow-clansmen whatever their tribal affiliation.

[773] Clan organisation is believed to be universal and coeval with mankind. No mythical explanation of the origin of clans is offered. Religious or
[784] ritual cults are not practised on a clan basis. There is no prohibition against killing or eating the object from which the clan derives its name, nor, on the other hand, is any special veneration required.

[554] The clans are not hierarchically organised though, in fact, some may enjoy greater prestige owing to their numerical strength or connections and others may be regarded as of little consequence, like the derided Pins and Needles clan. The clan to which the Kazembe's mother belongs is, for the duration of his reign, placed in a privileged position.

As a rule the clans have no specialised economic or ritual functions although the intervention of the Fish clan (*Bena Mpende*) is invoked when the water is too low for the salmon to reach their normal spawning grounds. No clan meetings are held.

(1) Valdez, op.cit., p.239.
(2) ibid.
(3) Burton, p.43.
(4) Based on information provided by I.G. Cunnison who is at present engaged on an intensive study of the Luapula peoples.